UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Is Christianity Christian?

By JESSE H. HOLMES

Items from a Traveler's Note-Book

XIX

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Rosika Schwimmer and the Supreme Court

By EDWIN D. MEAD

How to Make the Pact of Paris Effective

An Interview with S. O. LEVINSON

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Letters from the Editor-in-Chief, Mr. Holmes, written on his way home from Palestine, including chapters on special phases of a survey of that country — its schools, colonies, shrines, ancient and modern, etc. Letters to follow from Athens, Egypt and Italy, at which places Mr. Holmes touched on his return journey.

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CIII. MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1929 NUMBER 16

BOYCOTT WAR!

"The ending of war is a complex, laborious, and difficult task. A great change is needed in the teaching of history and the training of the young citizen . . . before we can begin to hope for the secure establishment of those world controls upon which alone an enduring world peace can be sustained. In the meantime the most effective resistance to the approach of another great war lies in the expressed determination now of as many people as possible that they will have nothing to do with it, that they will not fight in it, work for it, nor pay taxes when it comes—whatever sort of war it is."

—*H. G. Wells.*

We take pleasure in introducing herewith the latest addition to our UNITY FELLOWSHIP, Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee, minister of the Labor Temple, New York City. We first knew Mr. Chaffee in war-time, when, as a young Presbyterian clergyman, he refused to preach a khaki Christ, and for his courage and devotion made sacrifice of his church. After a brief service in the office of the Near East Relief in New York, Mr. Chaffee was sent to Jerusalem as a Red Cross officer to take charge of an orphanage abandoned by the Germans as a result of the War. Here he remained for a period of two years, from 1918 to 1920, when he returned to New York to assume leadership of the Labor Temple. This institution, located on 14th Street and Second Avenue, right in the heart of the down-town, East Side section of the city, may well be described as one of America's most famous churches. The story of its founding may be read in "A Son of the Bowery," by Charles Stelzle, who took an old-line denominational church in the last stages of death and decay, and made it over by sheer power of democratic leadership into one of the great people's churches of the land. Mr. Stelzle, after his heroic and far-visioned pioneering work was done, was succeeded by Jonathan Day, and he in turn by Edmund B. Chaffee. Mr. Chaffee has piloted his craft with rare skill, dauntless courage, and unfaltering fidelity to conviction through the stormy waters of this last reactionary decade. He has built a new edifice for the proper housing of his seven-days-and-nights-in-the-week activities. He has anchored his institution permanently in a neighborhood of shops and tenements where we are told no Protestant church can live, and in the happy service of a class of people who we are told will have nothing to do with religion. Mr. Chaffee is a lover of peace, a thorough-going democrat, a radical Christian, an ardent internationalist, a champion of liberty, and an able speaker and writer. His association with UNITY, as one of the editorial members of its Fellowship, means new strength to our cause, and we give him hearty welcome.

The growth of the British Labor Party is beyond all dispute the most amazing, and also most encouraging, political phenomenon of our age. More than any other one thing does it prove the continued vitality of England and the Empire. Before the War a small but wonderfully able and determined group of radical Socialists, the Party began to show the first signs of what was ahead in 1918 when, amid the furious after-war hysteria of the "khaki election," it actually succeeded in holding 60 seats in the House of Commons as over against the 485 seats of the Lloyd George coalition. In 1922, the stream of tendency was revealed to those who had eyes to see when the Labor Party emerged from the Tory landslide with 138 seats. In 1924 came Mr. Baldwin's protectionist election, when Labor achieved further progress with 191 seats as against 258 for the Conservatives and 157 for the Liberals, and actually sat in the seats of power for nine months when the Liberals threw their decisive influence to the left instead of to the right. In the next election, the Tories again swept the nation, and Labor had to be content with holding its own. Now comes the stupendous victory of May 30th last, when the British Labor Party became at one leap the largest party in the House of Commons. So tremendous was this triumph that one cannot help wishing that it might have been a bit more tremendous, and thus given MacDonald a full majority of the House, instead of restoring the balance of power to the hands of the pitiful little remnant of Liberals. But let us not be too avid of success! The next election, soon or late, will bring this final result. Meanwhile, the recent election shows with perfect clearness that, after a decade of political turmoil, the traditional two-party system in old England is coming back. The Liberals are through. Lloyd George's shrewdness, unscrupulousness and brilliant personal magnetism will hold his followers for a few more years—and then will come the end. The future

of the Empire is in the hands of the Tories and the Laborites, the conservatives versus the radicals, with the latter in sure and glorious ascendency.

It is a thrilling and also a tragic thing to read of the recent ceremonies in China in connection with the reburial of the body of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in the great new three-million-dollar mausoleum on Purple Mountain at Nanking. The thrill comes from the thought that the new China has found its hero and is honoring him as his memory deserves. The sense of tragedy springs from the thought of how far from completion even today, years after Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's death, is the work to which he gave his life; and how ironical were the circumstances under which the remains of the immortal patriot were borne to their last resting place. Dr. Sun was not only a patriot but a lover of peace. The dream of his days was the establishment of a peaceful and united China. Yet as his body was borne through the streets of Peking, the city was under martial law, and the two-mile cortége in its progress through six miles of streets passed between solid lines of soldiers armed with fixed bayonets. Every house-top along the route was manned by the military, windows bristled with rifles, and in squares and on strategic street corners were large bodies of cavalry and machine-gun brigades. The railroad from Peking to Nanking was guarded by an army of 30,000 troops to prevent its being cut by hostile soldiery. And while the ceremonies were going on, armies were marching and fighting in the war against Marshal Feng and his allies of counter-revolution. The distraction of the new China, its rending by jealous and ambitious military chieftains, is one of the supreme tragedies of our day. In the case of this country, exactly as in the case of Mexico, we feel that the forces well-established in the seats of power are those which promise deliverance to the people, and we deplore the revolutionary outbreaks which give occasion for continued violence and slaughter. It seems particularly sad that China, the most pacifist of all nations, should thus be stricken. But we must believe that the present confusion is only the travail of this country's slow but sure emergence from the feudalism in which she has reposed for centuries. As the struggle out of feudalism in Europe was marked by long-continued disturbance, the same struggle is marked by the same disturbance in China. We can only hope that the final result will be the establishment of one united republic, and not of various hostile nationalities such as have been the curse of the European continent for more than 300 years.

Speculation is lively these days as to the program of procedure which will be followed by President Hoover's Law Enforcement Commission. We wonder if the members of this important body could do anything better than give ear to Dr. William J. Hickson, Director of the Psychopathic Laboratory of the Municipal Court in Chicago. Dr. Hickson represents the exact opposite of all the tendencies now under full headway in this country for dealing with crime and criminals. He represents science, that is, as opposed to hysteria. What we see all about us at this moment is the crudest and most ferocious kind of a revival of the old superstitition that crime can be repressed and criminals discouraged by severity of punishment. So we have the Baumes Laws in New York, other new laws of the same cruel character in other states, the repeal of anti-capital punishment statutes, etc. Dr. Hickson sees in such legislation nothing but a futile locking of the barn door after the horse has been stolen. Crime, from his point of view, as from the point of view of every true penologist, is a phenomenon which springs from certain definite causes; and the only way it can be removed is to find, uncover, and destroy the causes in question. Thus, speaking of the typical gangster, Dr. Hickson declares him to be

> . . . a dullard, mentally feeble-minded, and with utter lack of human feeling. . . . A trace of his antecedents will reveal his family name in the public record dealing with dependency and delinquency for generations back.

Punishment of a fellow-gangster, in the opinion of Dr. Hickson, makes not the slightest impression upon this type of man, and so all punishment, severe or otherwise, is inconsequential. Even on the man himself punishment of the most terrible character produces no effect. "He marches to the electric chair," says Dr. Hickson, "with unconcern, lacking even the emotion of self-protection." Gangsters of the future are now in our schools, and in due course will be making trouble for our police and courts as they are now making trouble for their teachers. The crime problem is the problem of getting hold of these embryo criminals and dealing with them before they begin to work havoc upon society.

> They should be taken from the schools (says Dr. Hickson) before they get big enough to be gangsters. They should be segregated on State farms until such time as they are pronounced cured. In nearly every case this would mean life segregation.

Here is a scientific approach to this great domestic problem. It is along such lines as these that the President's Commission should proceed.

We commented last week on the seriousness of the Supreme Court's decision in the Mme. Schwimmer case as an attack upon civil liberties in this country. Its seriousness from this point of view cannot be exaggerated and is of course the one thing to be emphasized first and last. Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, President of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, has characterized the decision as "a great abridgment of American traditions of liberty and freedom of thought and expression," and thus "a disgrace

to our country." But the decision has another aspect which should not be neglected. We refer to its sheer absurdity, manifest on the face of things in denying the rights of citizenship to a woman because she is unwilling to "bear arms." Is the world actually moving back to such a state of barbarism that we are to count all women as Amazons who shall be expected to fight in the trenches side by side with their men folks, or perhaps as the last body of reserves after all the men have been destroyed? And this in a nation which has just solemnly pledged itself in the terms of the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact "to renounce war as an instrument of "national policy"! There is something so ridiculous in the utter contradiction between the determination of the United States "to renounce war" and the declaration of its highest court of appeal that citizenship is contingent upon willingness to fight, that for all our disgust and anger, we feel ourselves moved to burst out into gales of laughter. Have these Supreme Court judges no sense of humor? Do they want to be put in the same class with the Daughters of the American Revolution? When the Supreme Court handed down the Dred Scott decision it split the nation with the horrors of war. In handing down the Schwimmer decision it may be splitting the nation with the convulsions of mirth!

We open our mail this morning, and we find an exciting letter. *"Will you let me send you absolutely free,"* runs the letter, *"the first gainful lesson in getting riches."* This *is* exciting! Here is the long-sought-for key to the secret of getting money enough to pay for one's bread and butter and then having a little over. *"Getting riches is not a matter of saving money,"* continues the letter. This is reassuring! We have never been able to save any money and for that reason have always thought that we must live and die poor. But, lo and behold, we here learn that we can get rich without saving money. Eureka! Let us read on! *"Opportunity is not the answer . . . even ability does not necessarily bring riches. . . . then what is the secret?"* The author of the letter has the secret, and is willing to sell it in a series of lessons for a consideration. But why should he come to us, a mere minister? Men of the cloth are not supposed to know how to get rich, or to want to get rich even if they do know how. But let us read on! *"One of the 70 opportunities still open to Americans to become millionaires is the utilization of the power of prayer."* Ah! Here is where we come in! We are great at prayer. We have been praying for a quarter of a century, and are quite expert at the business. To be sure, all this praying never brought us any money, but evidently we have not been praying the right way. We do not know as much about prayer as we thought we did. At least, in terms of riches! So let us see! *"Simply mail the enclosed card, and I will send you the first letter of the 'New Key to Life.' . . . If I do not hear from you within two weeks I shall take it that you want the full course of twelve lessons and I shall start sending them to you monthly, $4.85 for the full course."* Ye gods! We guess this man does know how to get rich! Here we have got to subscribe to the first lesson in order to save ourselves from getting enrolled whether we want to or not for all the lessons. And others are involved as well as ourself! *"I am making this offer,"* runs the letter, *"just to you and a few others who have shown that they are ambitious.* (A little flattery always helps.) *Whether I extend the offer to any others will depend entirely upon your response."* Oh, what a responsibility! What shall we do? This man's whole business, perhaps the whole fate of humanity, depend upon our answer. The prospect appalls us. We are driven to resort to prayer once more, and this time to pray to be delivered from "the deceitfulness of riches."

Is Christianity Christian?

Would it be going too far to say that a Christian is one who actively believes in the teachings of Christ as a basis for life and conduct? And, if so, does the organized Christian church accept the teachings or teach men to accept them?

I

Probably it will be agreed that the most authentic and the most clearly expressed statement of the teachings of Jesus is the so-called Sermon on the Mount, as found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Moreover, the best commentary and explanation is certainly to be found in the various parables scattered through the same gospels. It will be observed that we are here dealing with the actual teachings of the Master himself, apparently in his own words as nearly as translation can carry them; and it can hardly be questioned that the central feature of this teaching is a plan of actual living dealing with the relations of men with one another in the everyday affairs of life. It has nothing to do with mere beliefs, and almost nothing to do with ritual. The plan of life presented is associated with the ancient idea of the Messianic kingdom, but is to be established not by the ancient method of revolution; on the contrary, it is to be brought about by the transformation of individual lives and is to be begun at once. Those who accepted Christ's leadership were to show their acceptance by taking on the plan of life proposed in the midst of Roman oppression and Jewish

intolerance and taking whatever consequences might follow. In this adventure of faith were they to find the more abundant life. There was no promise of immediate success, or of comfort, but they were to be "blessed" even in being reviled and persecuted and in having all manner of evil said against them.

Now what are the characteristics of this citizen of "the kingdom on earth as it is in heaven"? As described in the beatitudes his special virtues are (1) humility, (2) a longing for righteousness, (3) mercy, (4) purity. In his social relations (5) he shall not seek for wealth or power, and (6) he shall be a peacemaker. Such an one shall find comfort for his sorrows, and joy even in persecution. The rest of the Sermon on the Mount is mostly commentary on these texts. They are summed up again and again, and there is presented on the whole a very clear cut type of man who may be regarded as the type Christian. He has a large, generous tolerance for other men: he is not to judge them, nor to hate them, but is to love even his enemies. His righteousness is no superficial observance of rules,—indeed he needs no rules of conduct since his desires are all for the welfare of his fellows. How shall a man who loves men need a rule that he must not kill them? How shall one pure in heart need a command to abstain from sexual vice? A man fundamentally truthful finds it degrading to take oath before God that he will not lie this time. And indeed he feels it to be absurd to call God to witness his oath as if God were not his constant friend and companion.

The humility of the Christian is not that of one who grovels before a dangerous God, but involves a sense of proportion so that he does not "think of himself more highly than he ought to think." He realizes that being human he may be mistaken in his beliefs, his opinions, his religion, his politics; yet, knowing that these are what he must live by he has the courage and the dignity to "give and venture all he has" in living by them. And he has sufficient faith in the fatherliness of God, whatever else "God" may mean, not to fear injustice or unkindness on his part if he is wrong or even if in his weakness, he fails to live up to his best ideals. It would not be difficult to quote passages from the Sermon on the Mount to support this interpretation of the Christian type, and I challenge anyone to find support for a "Christian" type differing essentially from it. The Christian is tolerant, friendly, open-minded in consideration, firm in action when the time for action comes; he is courageous but not defiant, he is steady but not obstinate, humorous but not flippant; he has no final and fixed opinions but is always interested to "test all things and hold fast to that which is good."

His "longing for righteousness" raises the question as to the meaning of "righteousness". Jesus makes it very plain that "righteousness" is not obedience to a set of rules, but is rather conduct which is consistent with a harmonious plan of life,—that is with the "Kingdom of God". If we set out to make a world on the plan of the family, with a common father and all men brothers, then that conduct is "right" which serves that end and that is "wrong" which hinders it. "Rightness" is not a quality like "sweetness" or "redness," but is rather efficiency in serving a purpose. The Hebrew word for "sin" is derived from one which means to "miss the mark"; the Jewish legalists distorted the meaning so that it signified a disobedience to arbitrary orders from an imperial deity. Christianity restored the older and more intelligent meaning; a "sinner" is a bad workman, a careless citizen, a selfish neighbor,—one who substitutes his own interest, or that of his family, or that of his church or nation, for the general good; he is disloyal to the "Kingdom of God". It is impossible to be "righteous" by doing one list of things and leaving another undone; it is only accomplished by having a clearcut purpose and adjusting one's conduct to the service of that purpose. For the Christian that purpose is to make "Thy Kingdom come on earth".

His "mercy" is no other than a large-hearted consideration for his fellows. It is not a mere sentimentalism, and involves no shrinking from pain if pain is needed for his larger purposes. Mercy does not consist in letting people off from deserved punishment, but its infliction if deemed necessary, in a spirit of good-will and without personal rancor. Wrong is an offense against the public and should be dealth with as such; its merely personal aspects may be forgiven. The Christian has no personal enemies, no private rancors; which does not at all mean that he must find everyone agreeable, or have pleasure in their society, but does mean that he desires fair play and happiness for all. This quality of mercy is especially called for in dealing with that most contemptible form of cruelty known as "race prejudice", the which in all its petty forms is fundamentally un-Christian.

The "purity" of the Christian is not the prudery which conceals and denies the facts of our human lives. Secrecy and falsehood about our sex lives is probably responsible for a considerable part of its perversion. Certainly sex plays an extravagant part in our literature and in our social relations. It would seem that this particular element of our bodily existence is much stronger than is necessary for its purposes, being perhaps a leftover from conditions in which the great mortality of infancy called for a blind excess in reproduction. However that may be, there is no purity in mere repression, and the surprising frankness of our time is vastly more wholesome. Purity for the Christian means the subordination of sex, as well as all the rest of his desires, to his primary desire for the Kingdom of God.

The Christian is a peacemaker. He has sufficient

intelligence to recognize the fact that angry men or angry nations have no prospect of accomplishing even a decent solution of their differences by methods of violence. His pacifism is by no means to be confused with passivism, or with any vague "principle" of non-resistance. He knows that mere force is wholly unintelligent and that it may be pure accident that one man or nation is physically stronger than another. It is the merest stupidity to appeal to such an accident as a tribunal of right and wrong, and he will no more make that appeal if he thinks he is stronger than in the opposite case. He will use force when it is necessary and appropriate to the end in view, but since his primary end is a world family he knows that enforcing his will on other people does not serve that end. When interpersonal or international problems arise he is always willing to confer, and is more ready to suffer wrong than to do wrong.

II

If these are the teachings of Jesus then the Christian church is not Christian and most of its membership is not Christian. The influence of Christianity on the whole is for personal and national arrogance rather than for humility, substitutes a longing for prosperity, wealth and power for a "longing for righteousness", is sentimental rather than merciful, and prudish rather than pure. I think it fair to take the general attitude of Christendom, which has been under "Christian" influence for over a thousand years, together with the attitude of the organized Christian Church as decisive in this matter.

Christendom does not believe in humility. Its attitude to the rest of the world is marked by the extremest arrogance; and this is not alone in its relations with the heathen, but marks the dealings of the strong "Christian" nations with the weaker ones as well. The individual is expected to be a man of spirit,—not "poor in spirit"; he must resent injury and return it in kind, he must respond to insult with a blow, he must stand up for his "rights". He does not in practice believe at all in equality,—on the contrary he expects his employees to show him a deference which he by no means returns, he uses their first names though he would resent their using his, and he expects to settle his relations with them according to his will. In general his attitude toward those of other races, especially toward the Negro, is patronizing at best and contemptuous in very many cases. Internationally his attitude is as nearly that of a bully as his national strength will allow; imagine England in Egypt or India, or America in Mexico or the Philippines, dealing with the representatives of those peoples as equals. These strong nations, —merely because they are strong,—justify the massacre of unarmed and helpless people in their own homes to enforce their arbitrary will, and feel themselves quite capable of deciding for them any and all questions as to their welfare,—such as: Are they fit for self government? Should we keep our promises to them? Have they the right to make and enforce their own laws as to property? etc., etc. It never occurs to the strong to question whether *they* are fit for self government, or have the right to make laws affecting these same "inferior" people. Suppose a Chinese fleet shelled St. Louis because some Chinese were in danger from a race riot! Suppose an Indian fleet sailed up the Thames and dropped explosives on London as a "punitive" expedition for the Armritzar massacre! Humility! Equality! Christianity!

Christendom and the Christians do not believe in poverty, or in the dangers of wealth. This is so evident that it hardly needs mention. To be as rich as possible within the law, and even to strain the law to get richer, is the generally accepted practice and the Church not only does not condemn it but itself enters the race when it happens to be possible. I know of very few "Christians" who condemn wealth and luxury of their own class, though some are doubtful about that of those who are richer than themselves. The warnings of Jesus are explained away or ignored as are any other of his teachings that are not comfortable to follow. Yet nothing in the New Testament is more explicit than the passages which condemn the piling up of wealth and lives of luxury and idleness. And it is not only true that individuals spend themselves in the effort to be rich, and judge of success largely by acquisition, but our whole civilization centers about this matter of the accumulation and distribution of wealth. The relations of nations turn upon it so that they are ready to threaten war if their wealth in foreign lands is threatened, while they are not at all scrupulous as to how that wealth has been acquired.

And that brings me to the attitude of Christian nations toward war. Christendom is not a peacemaker but a war-maker. The individual nations spend half to three-quarters of their incomes in war expenses, and they face each other in the attitude of suspicion and hostility. They expect war, they plan war, they intend war. Their statesmen denounce war in the abstract, and proclaim their will to peace, but at the same time prepare to enforce their wills upon weaker nations when conditions allow it. No violence, destruction, or cruelty is barred. The use of poison gas was condemned when it first appeared; tanks were denounced as barbarous when they came as a surprise; the bombardings of unfortified towns was once forbidden by the "laws of war"; but today all nations, unless they feel themselves too weak for success, are preparing to use poison gas and tanks, and to attack the centers of population from the air. Women and children, and noncombatants generally were once sacred from attack; today they are the front line of the enemy. Christian

nations have fully accepted the ideal of civilization by killing.

III

If then to be Christian means to accept the plan of life taught by Jesus, the Christianity of our Christian churches and of our Christian nations is not Christian at all, but wholly and absolutely pagan. The sending of Christian missionaries from such churches and from such nations to the heathen is a piece of absurdity. Indeed it is worse than that, for any one can see that the impact of Christendom upon heathendom is preparing the way for universal conflict. The Orient has seen that Japan alone has the respect of the Occident, and that because Japan can show an army and navy comparable with those of the great "Christian" nations.

What Christendom has substituted for the teachings of Jesus is merely another mythology to add to the multitude of mythologies that the world has produced. It seems to the writer of this that the protagonists of the church machine should be smoked out of the pretense that they represent in any real way the teaching of the great Jewish prophet, and that they should be forced to present in unmistakable terms what their "Christianity" really demands of its adherents. Then if there are those among them who believe in the plan of life presented in the gospels they should get together and help on the establishing of Christianity which can make some claim to be Christian.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

—*Friends' Intelligencer.*

Jottings

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Rosika Schwimmer case continues to stick in our mind. It recalls to our memory the old nursery rhyme about the mother who was perfectly willing to have her "darling daughter" swim, but entirely unwilling to have her "go near the water." So America is willing to have peace, but not pacifists!

Mme. Schwimmer is now a woman without a country, which seems pretty terrible until one stops to consider what most countries are these days.

An alien outside America is not admitted if he believes in the use of force and violence. An alien inside America, like Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, is not granted citizenship if he does *not* believe in the use of force and violence. In such a predicament, what is the poor alien to do?

On the basis of the Mme. Schwimmer decision, here are some famous men not entitled to American citizenship—William Penn, William Lloyd Garrison, John Greenleaf Whittier, Leo Tolstoy, St. Francis, and Jesus of Nazareth.

If Gandhi came to this country—a refugee, let us say, from British Imperialism—he could never become a citizen under the terms of the Mme. Schwimmer decision. What shall we think of a country which would not receive Gandhi into its citizenship?

Is America civilized? By decree of this country's highest court a woman is denied the rights of citizenship because of her unwillingness to "bear arms."

J. H. H.

Items from a Traveler's Note-Book

XIX

Egypt

We came out of Palestine on the 19th of February. The next three days we spent in Egypt—at Cairo, Luxor, and Alexandria.

I

If ever I was glad to get out of a place, it was Egypt. I went to this most ancient of countries with expectations which were frustrated, outraged, defeated. I saw places and monuments which I am glad to have seen; I had experiences which I shall never willingly forget; but, like the man who visited the Bowery, "I shall never go there any more."

As I look back upon my adventures in the land of the Nile, I see two factors which spoiled them as sources either of entertainment or instruction. Underneath both these factors lies the basic fact that Egypt has been ruined by tourists. Long a rendezvous of the wealthy English, it has now become the winter playground of rich and idle people from all over the world. The season is short—from January to April. During these three or four months, enough must be gained by the natives to enable them to lie inert and slumberous under the scorching tropic sun during the other nine months. Of course, Egypt is rich—fabulously rich as compared, for example, with such a barren and wasted country as Palestine. If the people were willing to work as people of other countries work, they could make their land prosperous beyond compare. But the temptation to make enough off the tourists in two months to be able to loaf the other ten, is too great to be resisted. So Egypt, or the

part of Egypt sought by travelers, is spoiled, as I have said, in at least two ways.

First of all, since the Egyptians are voracious, and the foreign tourists, especially Americans, are "easy marks," it results that, during the transient tourist season, the land of the pyramids becomes one vast robbers' den. Brigandage, open and unashamed, begins at Alexandria, the port of entry, where ten dollars per capita is charged for the high privilege of disembarking. It ends only at the moment of departure, when something over two dollars per capita at the pier is imposed as an embarkation tax. Exactly like the feudal chieftains of medieval Europe, in other words, the Egyptian government holds up every traveler who passes its gates, and makes him stand and deliver. Coached by this example in high places, the people go and do likewise. On trains and trams, in hotels and shops, on the streets and in the public buildings, highway robbery is the universal practice. On my first afternoon in Cairo, I went out, as I always do in a strange city, prepared to wander about and lose myself in the avenues and squares. Nothing is more delightful than to scrape acquaintanceship with a foreign community in this careless way. Such procedure in Cairo, however, proved absolutely impossible. I had not walked a block before I was surrounded by a shouting horde of dragomen, cabmen, post-card vendors, shawl and rug merchants, money-changers, boot-blacks, and guides. As a man tramping through a swamp is overwhelmed by mosquitoes, so was I overwhelmed by this crowd of robbers. As though the brigands on the sidewalk were not enough, storekeepers rushed out of open doorways, and begged me to inspect their goods. They shouted in my ears, they plucked my sleeves, they nudged my elbows, they blocked my steps. Four blocks of this horror, and I turned tail and ran for my hotel, only to find myself surrounded by porters, bell-boys, waiters, clerks, all rendering services not asked or wanted, and all clamoring for money. Rushing to my room, I locked and barred my door, stripped off my clothes, and jumped into the bath-tub. I was safe till train-time.

Brigandage on the streets, however, is nothing to what it is in the shops and bazaars. You see a scarf, or a rug, or a piece of jewelry, or an antique, which looks attractive, and you ask its price. The merchant, sizing you up, names a sum anywhere from three to ten times the actual value. If you are "easy," or uninformed, you pay—and are thus robbed as neatly as though the shopkeeper had thrust his hand into your pocket and picked your purse. If you are "on" to the ways of Cairo, you express surprise, and offer one half, or one-quarter, or one-tenth of what the merchant has asked. The latter then becomes indignant and abusive. He shouts in angry protest, calls to neighboring shop-keepers to defend his honor, invokes the aid of Allah and the prophet to sustain his word. Frightened, or perhaps indignant yourself, you walk away, only to be followed by the merchant, who names a lower price and thus entices you back to his counter. So the haggling goes on! In a large transaction, it may continue for hours, or even days. At last, worn out, you pay a price so much lower than the one originally asked, that it seems cheap, and you take your purchase. Only to discover, later on, that you were cheated anywhere from 100 to 200 per cent!

On my second visit to Cairo, I became enamored of a dragoman's robe. My bargaining began before lunch, and continued at intervals until just before dinner. I finally secured the garment at the price which I had originally named, and plumed myself proudly that I had beaten an Egyptian at his own game. On the train that night, I took the robe out of my bag, and tried it on. And, by the empty tomb of the immortal Seti, I found that it was spotted, frayed at the edges, and generally well worn! My dragoman had gotten a good price for an old garment which he had had in the family for years!

But brigandage is not the worst of the plagues of Egypt. After all, there is protection against this thing. When one has been robbed a dozen times, one puts on caution as a suit of armor, and walks unscathed among the waiting thieves. One can even do in Egypt as the Egyptians do, and become a thief one's self. The Israelites were not above this sort of thing! The Old Testament tells us that when the Israelites fled from Egypt, they robbed their masters of all their treasures. Which I had always thought was a pretty dirty piece of business! But this was before I went to Egypt myself. Having been there, I now know why the Israelites acted as they did, and I highly approve their action. After three days in Egypt, I, a pacifist, would gladly have knocked a man down, had I had a chance, and taken every last sou he had upon his person. I was raised a homeopath, and thus taught the law, *"similia similibus curantur."* If sound in medicine, why is this law not in social practice? Moses gave the Egyptians a sound dose of robbery in his day, and it must have done them world's of good. I am all for trying the dose again.

Worse than brigandage, however, is an evil against which there is no protection. I refer to the circus which is run in Egypt day and night, from the Delta to the dam at Assuan. When I say circus, I mean *circus*. Take the pyramids and the sphinx, for example!

Here are objects to be numbered among the wonders of the world. One should stand alone, and in silence, before these majestic and mysterious monuments which were old before Rome was, and today are unmatched by the greatest works of modern man. I had an idea that, when I saw these marvels of ancient handiwork, I should walk into the desert, and stand before them quietly, and have time to think and feel a bit. By the sacred alligator, what a fatuous dream!

When you go to the pyramids, you go exactly as you go to a Harvard-Yale football game—with the crowd! Arrived at the foot of the Great Pyramid, you pass through rows of gaudily caparisoned camels, and think instinctively of Barnum and Bailey's parade in the old home town. Leaving your automobile, you find you must now mount a camel, and thus, at this great and long-awaited moment, give your best attention not to studying the pyramids, but to the business of keeping astride a rocking, rolling, pitching "ship of the desert." It's good fun, but why at this time when you should be thinking of something else? At last, you stand at the foot of the Great Pyramid. Your camel is still, and you dare to gaze at this vastest of earth's monuments. But a wild cry suddenly rivets your attention. A mad Arab is gesticulating before you, and to your amazement begins to disrobe. You finally learn that he wants to run up to the top of the pyramid and back—for 50 piastres. You say

"no"—that you have come to see the Pyramid, not a marathon runner panting up its sides. Then come loud shouts of protest and alarm—cries, curses, and complaints! You kick your camel, and the patient beast gives a grunt and moves on. You are now free —or think you are! But lo, there appear from out the sands a swarm of ragged urchins. They run by the camel, they seize his tail, they clamber up his legs. Post-cards, pictures, little models of the pyramids—only a piastre—buy, *buy,* BUY! There is no escape from this riot of noise and confusion. You say "No" to the ragamuffins—and they scream the louder. You scream back at them and curse them—and they only become the more excited. You strike at them with your cane—and they are at once vile and abusive. Before you know it, you are in front of the sphinx. You do not see it—you might well pass by it altogether—were there not now other fleas to bite you and thus bring you to attention.

For here are the photographers—yes, dear friends, the photographers! Before you know what is happening to you, your camel is turned *away* from the sphinx, and you find yourself facing not that miracle of stone, but a shining battery of cameras. Just like Atlantic City, Coney Island, Revere Beach! Here is the reason why you have come five thousand miles to Egypt—not to see the sphinx which looked on Napoleon, Caesar, Alexander, but to have your "pitchar took," to show the folks back home. I protested against such mockery. I cried "No, No"; I exhibited my own kodak; I demanded that my camel be turned around, so that I might see the sphinx a moment—just a moment—*please!* It was like fighting an angry mob, to break away—but at last I did it. But it was too late! Worn out, disgusted, angry, I asked only to *go on.* The sphinx disappears—the pyramids are vast looming shadows behind me—my camel stops, growls, kneels down—and the show is over!

Now this thing is a circus—only it lacks all the easy-going, good-natured fun of a circus. As sightseeing, it would be ridiculous if it were not sacrilege and profanation. And this experience at the pyramids is only the beginning—the first ring in the big tent. Go to Luxor, and see the second ring! Cross the Nile, to the tombs of the kings, and see the third ring! The temple of Karnak is a stupendous sight; the temple of Luxor is a place of awe and wonder; the tombs revive the dread and doom of death. But try to see these places with every corner adorned with itching palms, and all entrances and exits besieged by guides, jewelry vendors, snake-charmers, fortune-tellers, jugglers, donkey-men, and plain, every-day beggars! The traveling circus, with the main-tent a mere excuse to draw the crowds for the benefit of the swindling sideshows, is a perfect symbol of what Egypt is today. Three days, and I was sick of it. I fled as from a pestilence, and had no happier moment in all my journey, than when I looked back on Alexandria from the deck of my steamer, and vowed to the blue sky that I would never see this land of thieves and clowns again.

III

In these ways, and in other less serious ways, Egypt has been ruined. I think back to Palestine with its old-world customs, its quiet beauty, its holy places, and shudder at the thought that, in another ten years, this country may be ruined also. Damage enough has been done by warring sects and superstitious religions. But the tourist blight has not yet blasted the nation! But here is the railroad, with excellent night service between Cairo and Jerusalem. Here are fine, modern automobile roads running north, south, and east. In Jerusalem, a big first-class hotel is in course of construction, and another just finished at Tiberias. And this season, more than forty organized parties of tourists descended upon the place. Is Palestine doomed to go the way of Egypt? There are influences which may save it—pre-eminently, Zionism. But the possibility is there, and it is a nightmare of horror and alarm.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Athens, Greece.

Rosika Schwimmer and the Supreme Court

The Rosika Schwimmer decision by the United States Supreme Court will be as notorious in the history of our war against war as the Dred Scott decision in the war against slavery. Nothing could be more untimely, more reactionary or recreant, more disloyal to the best American spirit and the world's hope. It is almost incredible that at this hour our Supreme Court should decide on alleged Constitutional grounds that a woman has no right to citizenship in this republic who will not bear arms or go to war. No distinction can rightly be made, as Justice Holmes emphasizes, in the doctrinal condition of citizenship for those in the country and for those entering the country. We have just signed a solemn treaty with a great body of the civilized nations of the world "renouncing war as an instrument of national policy" and pledging ourselves to "settle all disputes by pacific means"; and the Constitution expressly declares that "all treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land." President Hoover on Memorial Day devoted his noble Arlington address to urging the American people to take their solemn pledge in earnest, to lead the nations in a high common endeavor to put an end to the monstrous naval armaments and make this a truly friendly and warless world, ushering in a new era of peace for mankind. The Supreme Court practically warns us that good citizenship demands the presupposition of a warring world, and that the man or woman who takes the treaty renouncing war seriously and condemns preparation for war or partnership in military defense cannot be accepted as a good member of the political community. Which truly advances most salutarily and efficiently the gospel of the President's speech—the man whose constant effort is for "the biggest navy on earth" or the Quaker?

For, as Justice Holmes pointedly reminded the Court, Rosika Schwimmer's peace doctrine is simply that of the Quakers, whom few of us want to have expelled; and the intensest Quaker does not ask to have the jingo expelled. It will be a sorry day for America when men holding the doctrine of William Penn and Rufus Jones are counted undesirable citizens. The most imperative principle of our Constitution, says Justice Holmes in his dissenting opinion, is "the prin-

ciple of free thought, not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought that we hate."

Justice Butler, who wrote the opinion for the Court's majority, says that Madam Schwimmer, in condemning the use of military force, shows herself without any "sense of nationalism" and, therefore, not "held by the ties of affection for a nation." These are monstrous deductions; and in the case of the woman now denied citizenship because she takes our treaty renouncing war seriously and refuses to share in the settling of disputes by fighting, they are refuted by her own emphatic statements and the testimony of a thousand noble men and women who know her. She came to this country, through great hardship, precisely because she did love it and its institutions above all others; and she has repeatedly declared, as Justice Butler himself conceded, that she would consider it her duty to uphold the United States against all written or oral attacks.

Justice Butler recognizes no ultimate or decisive form of defense for our government and institutions save the defense by guns. It would be hard to have the issue between the mournful old views and the hopeful new view drawn more sharply. It is not a case of anarchism or, as Justice Holmes puts it, any of the "now dreaded creeds." Madame Schwimmer, he pointed out, "thoroughly believes in organized government, and prefers that of the United States to any other in the world." If she thought that it might in some respects be improved the venerable Justice added wittily, "I suppose that most intelligent persons think it might be."

Justice Holmes makes the point that there is no more reason for excluding from citizenship a person who does not believe in military defense than a person who thinks that the Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed. There are, of course, thousands of such, as there are thousands who flout the Fifteenth Amendment, which declares the right of citizens to vote without regard to race or color. Many persons seeking naturalization are as much opposed to these provisions as native citizens; but who meddles with them?

Justice Butler's statement is jejune and finical to the last degree. For the sake of the good name of the Supreme Court it were to be wished that the majority opinion might have been written by a worthier hand, much as we might regret to see those worthier hands employed in the business. It looks backward and not forward, and its accent is that of the undertaker. It reveals no divination that the Constitution and the law are not an embalmed formula, but a living organism, and shows no vestige of the prophetic bias which is the work of the great jurist.

Justice Holmes was supported in his dissenting opinion by Justice Brandeis. The citizens of Boston may well be proud and grateful that the two apostles of enlightenment in this grievous exhibition of obscurantism are the two Boston members of the Court. Boston will say to them with promptness and with power, "Well done, good and faithful servants." New York is already planning a great demonstration against the decision. The Woman's League for Peace and Freedom, the Civil Liberties Union, the Community Church, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Civic Club and other organizations are uniting in the preparations. Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, the president of the Union Theological Seminary, addressing a meeting of 300 of the alumni the day after the decision was announced, stirred them to unanimous applause by his vigorous denunciation of the Court's un-American and intolerable action. Faneuil Hall and the Old South will speak their loud Amen.

So long as Boston shall Boston be,
And her Bay-tides rise and fall,
Shall freedom stand in the Old South Church
And plead for the rights of all.

I write on the evening of our Memorial Day. It is England's election day. I think that the great lessons of the day on both sides of the Atlantic will be the same. We have been thrilled as the President's words have been borne to us on the air from Arlington calling us to take our peace duties more seriously, to help the world cast away the instruments of war and put on the armor of light. It is possible, I think it is probable, that at this moment the ocean cable thrills with the assurance that Ramsay MacDonald will be the next prime minister of England. His most commanding word throughout the campaign has been that England must cooperate with the United States in foreign policy and that both must work together to cut down the great naval armaments and help the world to security, order and peace. It is a bad time to tell the American people that the measure of loyalty and political virtue is the readiness to fight.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

The Gunless Hunter

A friend, armed only with a field glass, a notebook for jottings and rough sketches, who, on occasion, summer or winter, saunters forth through pastures and along paths and highways and wooded streams, observing nature in general and bird world in particular, tells me he cheerfully puts up with the opinion of some of his neighbors, who deem him an oddity, a curious freak of a fellow.

Save your sneers, the gunless hunter
Has attained a splendid part.
Deem him truly a great lover,
Questing out a fair one's heart,
Count him someone to be envied,
Rather than a butt for jeers,
Reckon him as dream-chase avid,
Not a mark for pitying tears.

He has read a finer summons
Than the killer ever knows.
See him swing across the commons,
Jeweled by the shy, red rose!
From a tuft a lark he startles,
Or a wandering turtle frights,—
He's too busy with God's marvels
To encroach upon their rights.

Stream and thicket, hill and gully
Will his genial saunter share,
And no stain of blood will sully
Grass or tree or anywhere.
For, as Adam walked in Eden,
So walks he, this gunless scout,
Where the seen or partly hidden
Never hear his gloating shout.

WILL CHAMBERLAIN.

Yankton, S. Dakota.

How to Make the Pact of Paris Effective

An Interview with S. O. Levinson

The economic and mechanical development of the world is such that war as conducted in modern style is literally nothing short of insanity. The annihilation of time and space by scientific devices does not in my opinion forecast a "United States of the World" or a unification or even harmonizing of the political aspects of governments. But it certainly does make a cruel mockery of war as a method of settling disputes or establishing justice.

So long as war is recognized as lawful or desirable, it will remain as it is now, the super power of the world, a tyranny that destroys liberty along with life and property. But the coming into force of the Pact of Paris, known also as the Peace Pact and the Kellogg Treaty, should make a revolutionary change.

There were 15 original signatories to the Pact of Paris. All these signatory nations have ratified except Japan. Her signature is temporarily delayed by the technical question as to whether, being a strict monarchy, she can ratify "in the name of the people." Of course, this will be easily overcome by phraseology. Thereupon the pact goes into effect and so far as the major nations of the world are concerned international law makes war taboo.

Already upward of 25 additional nations have ratified and it is the confident expectation that as rapidly as their respective parliaments meet all the civilized nations will ratify the pact well within this year. Therefore, on Aug. 27, 1929, there should be a worldwide celebration of the first Peace Holiday in commemoration of the original signing of the treaty.

It is important that this holiday be made as universal and as emphatic as possible. The one great need is for the common people to understand that for the first time in history their governments have eliminated war altogether from international relations.

The Assembly of the League of Nations meets the following week, early in September. It is certainly expected that vigorous and far-reaching speeches, declarations and resolutions will be made in recognition and enthusiastic approval of the Peace Pact. This will identify the movement of peace under the Peace Pact with the objective of peace under the League of Nations.

Thus the world will be brought into peace harmony. For, after universal ratification, the illegality of war will be the cornerstone of international law, and all commitments to force, whether in the Covenant, Locarno, or other treaties, will be dormant and remain in abeyance so long as the paramount treaty for peace is respected and obeyed. The importance therefore of realizing that the world is on a peace basis under and by virtue of the Peace Pact is impossible of exaggeration.

With these things done and with the creation of international law entirely excluding war, the foundation is laid for reduction of armaments, a thing heretofore next to impossible. So long as war is lawful, implements of war are indispensable. With war outlawed the need for armaments gradually wanes to the point of domestic safety involving law and order and a force sufficient to allay fear during the probationary period of the new law against war.

In my opinion the movement for reduction of armaments should be pro rata. The nations, that is to say, should not be relatively weakened as compared with one another in the process of reduction. Such a plan would make limitation of armaments ever so much easier. In this connection, of course, the position of certain nations that are practically disarmed will have to be considered, but that would not furnish a troublesome problem.

Once armaments have been reduced proportionally and without materially affecting the relative positions of the nations, the people must see to it that those armaments are never increased but that the downward trend to the minimum of safety must be pursued. In this way the economic recuperation of the world can be accomplished directly. When one considers the billions upon billions of dollars expended for armaments which become obsolete before the next war comes, an idea can be had of the avoidance of economic waste by this suggested procedure.

It is well to emphasize the difference between war as it has existed and the right of self-defense. War has been an institution, a method of settling disputes, and therefore an international "court." This process of establishing justice, right or title by force has been driven out of every corner of civilization except the largest—the international.

Here the fetish of sovereignty in some way or other has kept war going. And when war comes the expression "defensive war" is used by each nation to vindicate its position and to challenge its opponent. Likewise the term "aggressive war" is used to anathematize the enemy, but as each belligerent indulges in an equivalent epithet these expressions mean nothing except war propaganda and war morale.

The right of self-defense is not an institution, is not a method of settling disputes, is not a court. It is a safeguard to liberty and life. The right of self-defense was not created by law or treaty and cannot be taken away by law or treaty. This right of self-defense is inherent and ineradicable, but is not war in any institutional or accepted sense.

Law has never even attempted to regulate the right of self-defense, merely to permit it where it legitimately comes into play. There are no rules for the individual or for a nation in its unlimited right to defend against naked or brutal attack if such thing happens.

Therefore when the Peace Pact becomes the universal law of the world, war as an institution, war as it has been used, will become obsolete, merely a metaphor, a figure of speech, like dueling. Duels are not now fought in a real and legal sense. When we speak of two men fighting a duel we use the word "duel" only figuratively. The institution has been outlawed. Thus we repeat the right of self-defense is clearly and altogether distinguishable from war.

We have been speaking of immediate "steps." Of course, it is fundamentally important to change the whole process of education of the young to conform with the new law of the world. As many of us did not want to violate the law as long as war was lawful and authoritative, so infinitely more we do not want

to violate the law when war has become unlawful and criminal.

Textbooks and general instruction in schools and colleges should be adapted to the new international law of peace. Likewise ministers need not confine themselves to attacks on war as violative of the decalogue, but can show that war has become also a violation of fundamental international law. This whole process of development should be directed to the enlightening and strengthening of public opinion which after all is the greatest force in the world.

Until the coming into operation of the Peace Pact, public sentiment for peace has not been able effectively to function. Law has hitherto been on the side of war, and it has been almost impossible to array overwhelming public opinion against the law. Now the situation is altogether reversed and public opinion must see to it that government officials carry out this new law, both in letter and in spirit. In short, the outlawing of war is a people's movement, based upon the supposition that the overwhelming mass of decent people of the world want to be rid of war once and for all. Eternal vigilance on the part of the peoples is the price of peace and with it liberty.

Efforts have been made and will continue to be made redolent of the war system to put poison into the peace cup. The philosophy of the Peace Pact is that of law and the plighted word as distinguished from the philosophy of force. For 2000 years and more the theory of force has dominated international relations.

Wars have grown steadily worse and the last war was the greatest and worst of all time. This is the inevitable evolution of force. It grows by what it feeds on. War breeds war. And if we continue the old philosophy of force, civilization is plainly doomed. But now we have a universal treaty based upon law and the plighted word of the peoples.

The ink, however, is hardly dry when someone proposes that part of the war system be inserted into this Peace Pact to strengthen it. Failing to get a general agreement to go to war in case of a supposed aggression or the operations of a bandit nation, an international dentist proposes to put "teeth" into the Pact.

There are at least two objections to putting in teeth. First, the teeth are false because they represent war and not peace. And secondly, the Pact is too young to need teeth of any kind as yet. When it does need such "teeth" it will mean the failure of the people to observe their treaties, it will mean the downfall of law and the plighted word, and we will be back again, when "teeth" are required, into the age of war.

Mars has had his way since history began. Why not give the people's word a chance? One might think that the war system was of great service in the world, so quickly do its defenders attempt to put bellicose features into the new peace law. I am happy to know that the European publicists are rapidly getting away from and condemning the theory of sanctions or force as the basis of international relations. That question of sanctions marks the main difference between the philosophy of peace of America, beginning with our Constitutional Convention of 1787, and the traditional view of Europe on the same subject.

Every international treaty freely entered into by the nations with one another has invariably been based upon the plighted word and not upon sanctions or force. There are tens of thousands of those treaties in existence today. They are the only mode of international life we have ever known and they are a striking example of the effectiveness of the plighted word of the nations when freely and voluntarily given.

Even military alliances among the nations are always dependent upon the plighted word. There is no way of having sanctions in military alliances, that is, of compelling one people to fight for another people. It must always be the redemption of the plighted word.

By what process of reasoning will people keep their plighted word for war and will not be expected to keep their plighted word for peace? That constitutes the difference between the Peace Pact and a military alliance. If the word is good for war, why isn't it infinitely easier and better for peace?

I am a believer in the common people of every civilized nation. I believe that the people of every decent nation in the world will keep their word and will maintain their honor. If it has not always seemed so in the past, it is because war has played havoc with everything, including peoples' honor.

There are two things I believe our beloved country will never do: 1—Make a military alliance in any form in times of peace. 2—Commit itself in advance to any definite mode of procedure in the future in case of a crisis.

Our hands and our hearts must always be free to act in accordance with sound public opinion when the crisis comes.

The Study Table

Methods of Living

Obviously Professor Wieman has a fertile mind. This is the third book* that has come from his pen within as many years. And this one, like the others, is thought-provoking and suggestive. The author believes strongly in worship, especially private worship, and holds that worship like swimming can be improved by the development of technique. The pre-conditions of private worship are; first, plunging into the deep waters of life; second, sincerity, which among other things means not taking into worship any beliefs which the worshipper doubts; and third, a time and place that will allow one to be secluded so far as possible from physical contact with others. In other words, the worshipful soul must be earnest, sincere, and concentrated. So much for the pre-conditions of worship.

Now, for the act of worship. The first step is to relax and become aware of whatever the worshipper believes himself to be dependent upon, whether that be electrons or a super-person. The second step is to call to mind the possibilities for good that inhere in the integrative cosmic process called God. The third step is to face our problems frankly. Then, in the fourth step, we analyze ourselves to see what personal readjustments are needed and then make the necessary changes. The fifth step is to formulate in words the

*"Methods of Private Religious Living," by Henry Nelson Wieman. Macmillan, New York.

needed readjustment so that one can repeat them frequently. This auto-suggestion is not itself worship but rather the "nailing down" of the results of worship.

There are chapters on the Release of Energy, Reconstruction of Society, Methods of Dealing with Common Things, Meeting a Crisis, Public Worship, Fellowship, Joy in Life, Methods of Mysticism, and Method in Religion. The chapter on Mysticism disposes of many types and advocates what the author calls problem solving mysticism, which, being interpreted, means sitting in front of a problematical situation and waiting for a clew without any pre-conception of what one is waiting for. One may or may not get a good clew. There seems to be no way of guaranteeing results.

The book is good wine. One almost becomes intoxicated with the modernity of its symbols and the practicality of its effects; but there is still room for doubt as to whether the author is not making the mistake of putting new wine in old bottles.

CURTIS W. REESE

Correspondence

Association Against the Prohibition Amendment

"You may tempt the upper classes with your villainous 'demi-tasses' but heaven will protect the working girl." That old chant was freely—very freely—translated into cold statistics by Professor Guillian, who holds the chair of neurology at the Faculty of Medicine, when he told the Academy of Medicine that the liquor habit was spreading among the well-to-do while it was on the decrease among the workers.

The cocktail in particular, is the greatest menace of the upper and middle class, he told the Academy. He traced many diseases, growing more numerous, to the cocktail habit and declared "snobbism" responsible for the spread of the fad for shaken drinks.

Professor Guillian also analyzed the most popular cocktails for the benefit of the Academy, telling the proportion of gin, whiskey and brandy used in the American importation. He also found that nervous and body ailments due to over-indulgence were on the increase among young people.

"While nervous diseases due to alcoholism have decreased during the last twenty years among the workers, alcoholism has spread among the middle and upper classes since the war to such an extent through the craze for cocktails that it has become a serious affair," said Professor Guillian.

Editor of UNITY:

The above clipping is from the Paris edition of the New York *Herald*. At first glance it seemed just another daily fling at American Prohibition, such as the *Herald* and *Tribune* delight in. Although it sounds as if it might have been written in and about people in New York or Chicago you will notice that it is by a French doctor about French young people.

I am sorry that I cannot also enclose the note of alarm sounded from Africa about the physical and moral degradation being wrought by the American cocktail among the ruling English in Africa.

I send this word to UNITY because it is our duty to help a new organization in the United States. It is not poor—far from it. It is doubtless better financed than UNITY, Lincoln Centre and the Community Church in New York all combined. However, it is young and a worthy organization, it says it is. It stands for temperance and is against the saloon. We have that on its own authority. I refer to the "Association Against the Prohibition Amendment." It does not say so, for it is as wise as the serpent. It issues pamphlets in excellent taste, well written, well printed and is sent to college young people and I presume to many others.

The first pamphlet stating the aims of the organization and giving the history of the Prohibition movement was mostly true, so much so that only those who were old enough and had been near enough to the Prohibition movement to know, could detect the omissions that made it false.

The "Quebec System" soon followed it. It failed to note the bootlegging and smuggling that goes on, but it was interesting to have such a personally conducted tour. The last to reach us is "Scandals of Prohibition Enforcement." I could have written a better one from the point of one who has observed crooked politics from Harding down to Hoover in the selection of men to enforce prohibition. With "our best citizens" lending aid and comfort to the bootlegger one can scarcely however blame the politicians.

There is danger that they will run out of subjects, so do send a marked copy of UNITY to them, care of John C. Gebhart, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., suggesting for instance, this, "American Prohibition is undermining the moral and physical stamina of the White Race." The cocktail may have been invented before the Prohibition Amendment was adopted, but that makes no difference. I am sure "our best citizens" were not corrupting other nationals until after the war Prohibition. Another subject they should use for a pamphlet is the "Russian System." There we have the perfect circle, the same pocket receives the income from all sources and pays for all expenses. Of course one knows only what one sees in the papers about Russia. This was only a small item but it rings true and if it isn't true now it will be. The Government, as we all know, believes, what most Wets believe, that the Government is justly entitled to any profits from the sale of liquor. The more vodka sold the greater the revenue. It was interesting at first to note the rejoicing over such a large, easy revenue. It takes a year or two to make confirmed drunkards and get the back-wash in crime, broken homes, sickness and distress. This small item stated the department in charge of industry is complaining that there is more lost to the Government in the Monday morning hangover, in time lost and poor workmanship, than is gained in revenue. The departments of justice and relief are yet to be heard from. The Government will of course have to charge more or increase the sales. After learning of the failure of Prohibition in the United States, as reported by the U. S. papers in Europe, no government could think of trying it.

One of the last glowing headlines was, "Prohibition has corrupted the Judiciary." Just think of that!! A Judge said so and he should know. And what Prohibition has done to the police force of the United States is most shocking.

Yesterday it was stated, with tears, how much has been wasted in trying to enforce Prohibition. Now there I differ—wasted? Certainly not from the standpoint of the crooked politicians who run our political machines. From their point of view most of it was sound investment. It was certainly well spent from the standpoint of "our best citizens." It has made booze cost so much, that just having it on hand is a sign of prosperity, it is even smarter than diamonds and pearls. Then there is the bootlegger, think what that money, so much of it spent in protecting him, has done for the bootleggers and their families. Of course from the Prohibitionist's way of thinking it has been wasted. As every national, state, county and municipal official swears to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and the 18th Amendment says there shall be no intoxicating liquor manufactured or sold in the United States, one would suppose the manufacturing of the stuff could be stopped in the U. S. without Federal aid, leaving the U. S. Government free to stop smuggling from friends and neighbors. At least one would think so until we remember that Prohibition has corrupted all these law enforcing officers all over the United States. Is it not about time that some of us got together and had an experience meeting about these corrupted judges and police officers? We need not go far out of the Lincoln Centre neighborhood for evidence in recalling the good old days before our judges and police were corrupted. The records of the Committee of 15 would lend us aid. Vice and booze always went hand in hand, protected by kind policemen and judges. The records kept by Arthur Burrage Farwell in his gallant fight to keep one small spot in Chicago clean would shed a glaring light on how bootleggers and law breakers worked under protection in Hyde Park.

Why get excited about rum runners in automobiles with machine guns? Didn't we have conscription and send all our boys to learn how to kill in the then latest style? Of course now they would come back with a knowledge of poison gas. We knew when we conscripted *all* the young men, that no clever crooks were in prison, they were playing hide and seek and blind man's bluff with the police in our cities. While they were in the army they stopped their games but it seems

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

FREE SPEECH IN BOSTON

[We print herewith three notable editorials, one from the May 31st issue of the *Christian Register*, another from the June 1st issue of the *Christian Leader*, and a third from the May 31st issue of *Zion's Herald*. Both were occasioned by the denial of Lorimer Hall in Boston to the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice for a public address by a distinguished physician on Birth Control. It would seem as though the old city, sound asleep for years on this civil liberties question, were at last waking up. —*Editor.*]

I

And Freedom Won!

Unanimously, hotly, the ministers at the luncheon of the Ministerial Union, during Anniversary Week, rose to declare there must be freedom of speech. There was a reason. One of the subjects on the regular program was Birth Control. At a late hour, Lorimer Hall in Tremont Temple, engaged for the address, was denied the Fellowship for Social Justice, under whose auspices the subject was to be discussed, because of the superintendent's fear that the Boston police would close up the meeting and disperse the audience. They have been doing that sort of thing ever since Mayor James M. Curley, reflecting the Roman Catholic belief against birth control, thundered threatenings and otherwise intimidated owners of public halls six years ago. There has not been a single meeting favoring birth control in a regular public place in all this time, though a noted Jesuit spoke at Ford Hall within the year *against* birth control, and that fact carries its own condemnation of the rotten injustice that has got into the municipal government of this backward city.

In their perplexity, the Fellowship, we are informed, tried churches in Boston of our own faith, and finally received an invitation from the Boston University theological school to hold the meeting in Robinson Hall. We know now who is liberal and who believes in freedom of speech. The Methodists!

Before this invitation had been accepted, the ministers, hearing that an invitation under Unitarian auspices was not forthcoming from convenient churches in the city, expressed their zeal and sent an emissary in the person of Dr. Frederick R. Griffin to the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association which was at the time wrestling with the question in great deliberateness. The ministers, by a rising vote, asked that the Association invite the Fellowship to hold their meeting in Eliot Hall, at 25 Beacon Street. The invitation was given, but with the restriction that not more than one hundred persons might attend, on account of the building construction. That was regarded as fair, the uncertain situation was saved so far as Unitarian loyalty to the only principle that distinguishes our communion is concerned, and the Fellowship decided to accept gratefully the generous and unafraid hospitality of the Methodists in the hour of need.

Thus an incident which might have been an inhappy episode, passed. We wish to pay our tribute to the Unitarian Church in Lexington for being the first to invite the Fellowship to meet under their auspices—where Theodore Parker's soul goes marching on, where America began! And praise to the church in Roslindale, whose minister, Dr. Carlyle Summerbell, is always instant for our liberties. Let it also be recorded that there is no ordinance or law against holding meetings on the subject of birth control in Boston or elsewhere in the State. In the General Laws of Massachusetts, Chapter 272, covering related matters, there is nothing to warrant any police action against such an orderly, ethical, and churchly assemblage as the Fellowship for Social Justice always gathers for its annual meeting. The truth is the whole atmosphere of the city is fetid with decayed spiritual and civil liberties, for which outrageous conditions pontifical religion and incorporated economic truculence are chiefly responsible. We Unitarians must breathe in higher air. We rejoice that the call was answered: "Rise up, O men of God!" —*The Christian Register.*

II

A Blow at Liberty-Loving Unitarians

To say that civil liberty is dead in Boston is an exaggeration, but it is not an exaggeration to say that in sight of Fanueil Hall and the statue of Samuel Adams civil liberty is being desperately wounded.

When officials without shadow of legal authority begin to issue orders in advance as to what citizens may or may not do, we move steadily toward the bureaucracy of a Russia under the Czars. In some respects that bureaucracy is already full-fledged in Boston. The licensing bureau of the city government, which issues the licenses under which public halls do business, for years has taken it upon itself to say to owners, "You can or you can not do this." If owners stand upon their rights and refuse to obey, the other branches of the city government get busy, building inspectors find structural defects, fire inspectors find dangers no one else can see, and the place is closed up, the owner compelled to lose rentals and perhaps put to an expense of thousands of dollars for unnecessary repairs. When Curley, the Democrat, was in office he repeatedly used his power over the license bureau to forbid the K. K K. to hold meetings, or Margaret Sanger to speak on birth control, or the Socialist Party to hold a peace demonstration. Since the disappointing Nichols, a Republican, has been in office, he has refused permission to friends of Bimba, the alleged blasphemer, to hold a meeting, and also has barred meetings in favor of birth control, although a meeting against birth control was permitted at Ford Hall. And the refusal of the officials to permit Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers to meet is fresh in our memories.

A dramatic illustration of the use of this arbitrary and un-American procedure was given at the May meetings of the American Unitarian Association. The action could not have been more timely. Intelligent and resourceful people had gathered in Boston from various parts of the country, and they got the facts. The Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice had engaged Lorimer Hall, Tremont Temple, for their evening meeting

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that now they are all having a good time at the same old games with a few improvements, like automobiles and machine guns. Prohibition did not teach either the crooks or police how to play blind man's bluff or hide and seek.

You will notice that this Association Against Prohibition is not bothering with the young people in the churches but in the colleges, and for all I know in the high schools. They are wise indeed. While the Anti-Saloon League is busy trying to get the right men and women elected this other organization is looking ahead about four years, educating the new citizens, exaggerating here, leaving out what does not suit their purpose there, but on the whole putting up a very plausible argument against Prohibition in its appeal to the young people who do not remember the saloons and the crime and corruption of the good old days. These young people may even be foolish enough to believe that Government officials who cannot be trusted to enforce the law because it pays them in money and votes not to do so, would enforce any modified law.

So long as we put up with our machine politics and vote for the men they put before us we will have corruption and graft. In our entire history vice and liquor have been most generous with graft, for that reason most appreciated, and they always will be. It is time the real temperance people got back on their job of education. Each generation has to be educated by methods suited to them. The present generation does not want emotional or altruistic appeals, many of them want to be shown what they will get out of it in dollars and cents. There Prohibition can talk loud, long and convincingly. It certainly pays to have sober workmen, it certainly pays to have a clear head and steady hand to manage our ever increasingly complicated machinery. It might even appeal to the young collegian that boozing never landed any one in a good job, except the bootleggers, the distillers and brewers. And as a rule they are too wise to drink their own merchandise.

Now that the women (some women) and the artists, cartoonists and literary people (some of them) have organized against Prohibition, UNITY had better shout loud, long and frequently the truth about Prohibition with pictures of before and since the 18th Amendment. The time has come to fight the good fight. The 18th Amendment was only a gesture unless backed up by all who believe in prohibition as the only way to insure sobriety to the greater number.

It is a social experiment that must succeed and will if we stop thinking it was completed when it became a part of the United States Constitution.

The forces working against Probihition are well financed, their literature proves that. They are determined, they are wise, they are young or they would not make the sort of approach they do. They have the greatest newspapers in the world with them and our "best citizens," not to mention the old timers and the "personal liberty" folks. Such an array would have challenged Mr. Jones to joyful combat. Who follows in his steps? O. C. S.

and had announced two addresses, one by Dr. James F. Cooper of New York on "The Sociological and Moral Aspects of Birth Control," the other by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, D. D., of New York on "Boston's Betrayal of Civil Liberties: a Protest and a Challenge." Two or three days before the meeting the superintendent of the hall informed the committee that the meeting on birth control could not be held. We should remember that it never was proposed to violate the law about giving information on contraception. All that was proposed was to discuss the subject in its broader aspects in strict obedience to the law. . . .

The Fellowship met in Lorimer Hall and heard Dr. Holmes in one of his most telling and eloquent addresses. Then they adjourned to Robinson Chapel, occupied by Boston University, a Methodist institution, and heard Dr. Cooper.

The trouble advertised the meeting as nothing else could have done. There was standing room only when Dr. Cooper gave his dignified, illuminating address. Thousands of people heard of the incident and now will want Dr. Cooper to speak in their community.

The issue, however, is vastly more important than the important question of birth control.

It is the issue whether or not through indifference and cowardice the American people will permit fundamental rights to slip away. The majority of us would have assumed that encroachments upon the rights of free speech, free press, public assembly, were slight and caused by the desire of liberty-loving officials to prevent disorder. In Boston this is not true. The atmosphere in which these arbitrary acts are done is one of suppression. "I will not allow any meeting in Boston," said Curley in 1923, "that savors of peace."

Who rules? The Curley and the Nichols type of bureaucrats or the people? Even if a majority vote to put such officials in office, do there not still remain our constitutional guarantees?

That we do not like the K. K. K., or Bill Haywood, or the Socialists, or Margaret Sanger, or Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers, is beyond the mark. There is no guarantee for any until there is a guarantee for all. When William Ellery Channing took up the fight for Abner Kneeland, a former Universalist, arrested for blasphemy, he endangered his own standing for one whose ideas he abhorred.

There is danger when the mayors and the police chiefs begin to make our laws. As Dr. Holmes so eloquently pointed out, our refuge is in the courts. What is needed in Boston and everywhere is for citizens to resist such encroachments on fundamental rights, get themselves arrested if need be and appeal to the courts that today, as they have been for over 150 years, are our refuge and defense.

—*The Christian Leader.*

III

What has become of free speech in historic Boston? The right, although guaranteed by the Constitution, seems to be fading away in the metropolis of New England. Again and again during the past few years the police have put obstacles in the way of the public discussion of topics which to their minds appeared dangerous. It never seems to have occurred to them that the suppression of free speech is one of the most hazardous undertakings in its possible consequences that the human mind can conceive. True safety and security in a republic, or anywhere else for that matter, lie not in forcibly forbidding discussion but in allowing citizens fully to express their views. Ideas are the most powerful things in the world. Suppress them and they become destructive dynamite. But allow them free play and by the law of the survival of the fittest the truth will prevail and the false will fall of its own weight. Who could have imagined one hundred years ago that pleas would have to be made in 1929 for free speech in New England, the cradle of American liberty? Such, however, is the situation. We are on the verge of being told what we can think and what we cannot think—by the police.

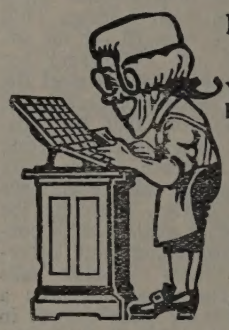
In connection with the May meetings of the American Unitarian Association, held in Boston last week, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice had engaged Lorimer Hall, Tremont Temple, for its anniversary program on Monday evening, announcing two speakers, Dr. John Haynes Holmes of New York on "Boston's Betrayal of Civil Liberties—A Protest and a Challenge," and Dr. James F. Cooper, also of New York, on "The Sociological and Moral Aspects of Birth Control." Franklin F. Plimpton, the superintendent of Tremont Temple, however, while allowing Dr. Holmes to deliver his address, forbade the use of the hall for Dr. Cooper's speech. According to the daily press, Mr. Plimpton said that the licensing board of the city had always frowned on the use of public halls for such discussions and that, furthermore, the trustees of Tremont Temple forbid use of the auditorium for any such purpose. Mr. Plimpton was quoted by one of the sponsors of the meeting as having said that any owner of a public hall was in danger of losing his license if he permitted the use of the place for discussion of the subject in question.

Fortunately, the authorities of Boston University School of Theology stepped into the situation just in time to save free speech, in this instance at least, for historic Boston, and offered their Robinson Chapel for the delivery of the address on birth control. The officers of the institution are to be congratulated. We never were more proud of Methodism and Boston University than when on Tuesday morning the daily papers announced that the school on Beacon Hill had opened its doors for this meeting.

Now, it should be carefully borne in mind that the issue for the moment is not the merits or demerits of the birth-control movement. There are many—doubtless a majority—of the citizens of this country who think that this teaching is unsound. But there is a very intelligent minority, whose intentions are clearly straightforward and honest, on the other side of the question. And here was a group of Christian leaders, met together to listen to an exposition of "The Sociological and Moral Aspects of Birth Control." . . .

Unless we are greatly mistaken, the incident in connection with the meeting of the Unitarian Association will start a far-reaching discussion on the whole issue of free speech which will bring about some kind of reform looking toward a new recognition of the constitutional rights of American citizens. Already there are evidences of deep indignation on the part of intelligent leaders in the city of Boston. Editors of religious and other journals are expressing themselves in unmistakable language on this question of the suppression of discussion. . . .

—*Zion's Herald.*



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